

769/62 cont. / out in the same sequence in every instance.
They will be briefly reported here.

[793] By donning a white headdress, the pinati makes himself distinguishable as the one who is going to bring about contact
[777] between the living and their ancestors. The throwing of rice, usually in puffed form (bente), over the offerings is done because it is believed that rice brings good luck. The pinati sprinkles a circle of drops of oil around the offerings with the little oil bottle. After he has placed incense in a burning incense vessel, with the latter, he describes the same circle, first three times counterclockwise and then once clockwise. This done, he places the offering, the "parappo" (1), prepared

1. See p. 84.

by himself, inside the circle next to the offering bowls. Both the puffed rice as well as the parappo is momentarily held over the incense vessel each time for purposes of purification, so that whatever enters it will always be pure. An imaginary circle thus separates that which is brought into contact with the ancestors from the rest of the world. The pinati then places a few fingers of his right hand as it were against the circle and mumbles for a few moments. In so doing, the ritual is concluded.

What he mumbles is kept secret by the pinati. At the same time he always communicates the factual events to the ancestors. Thus, at the time of planting: "We have come here to report to you that we are going to plant; if we obtain a good harvest we will offer the best of it to you." Or at the harvest festival: "Here I bring you the best of my harvest."

The Pinati

612 The Pinati of Bontoramba was a kinsman of the Kapala.
793 His standing was high in his related group because of his personal qualities. He functioned as a regulator of marriages and

857/140 cont./ be able to run away again more easily. Little
867 boys are allowed to be somewhat rowdy and boisterous during
a festival, but girls are forbidden such behavior: "Are you

[262] a boy?" an older girl then snaps at her. Little girls may not
eat a certain kind of fish so that later, when they are grown
up, they will not become man-crazy. At various festivities

• [777] they receive "pitjuru," luck-bringing /141/ charms so that
when they are grown up they will marry and have many
children. The sexes are sometimes separated as early as the
[871] age of seven to eight years when children go to the religious
instructor (guru ngadji), where they learn to recite the Koran.
Then the girls receive instruction from the guru's wife in the
back of the house.

593 One of the first frustrations of children after weaning
867 is caused by adult men, especially the father. When a man
enters the house, women and children withdraw to the back
part of the house. When there are guests, care is taken that
the children make no noise. When an important man is in
the house, this rule applies even more strictly. Little
children who then make noise are threatened with: "He is
angry at you." An old woman repeated to a three-year-old
who quietly sat next to her, "He sees you, he is looking at
you." The importance of the situation was imparted in this
fashion; and a certain fear as well as a certain veneration
for the superior found expression in this way.

867 The difference in /social/ level between children is
554 revealed partly by what is less tolerated in one than in
another. When a karaëng comes for a visit to the house of
the adat community head, his little son may run around and
perhaps even sit down behind his father, but the children of
kinsmen and servants remain in the back rooms, and the
women take care that they are quiet.

864 A little girl learns from early childhood that it is not
good to show herself naked: "Where is your sarong?" she is
asked. This applies to boys only one to two years later.

/176 cont./

Elements of the Wedding Ritual

The Announcement

584 The announcement to a young girl that she is to marry is made with great care. An older woman is enlisted for this purpose, [554] /177/ one who herself has many children and who has done well in this world. For instance, the wife of a kapala or someone who has higher blood coupled with personal standing. [177] The parents hope that some of their luck (pitjuru) will be imparted to their child. The girl is taken to the woman and is addressed quietly and in a friendly manner with a few, well-chosen words. "We intend to make you a complete person" (nipadjari tau); "we want to make you into one single whole" (nipakalepu).

When her marriage is announced to her, a girl always cries. A somewhat simple type who remained seated quietly was even [539] incited to do so: "Cry, child, otherwise people will laugh at you" (ngarruko 'ndi, nakakaliko sallang taua). Not to cry is regarded as a sign that she longs for a man.

A girl who has heard that she must marry generally draws the sarong over her head and sobbingly lies down in a dark corner of the house. She refuses all food and remains there until she is taken up by her female relatives in order to undergo a certain ritual. At that time she keeps herself as passive as possible and thereby shows that the idea of having to marry makes her very unhappy.

It is also expected of a young man that he will be sad when he hears that he must marry. Eh, tene'na, "What, is he glad," (that he is going to marry), was the disapproving reaction of an old woman when the boy remained completely quiet. The kinsmen repeatedly make remarks to him designed to put him in a sad mood. "Think of your mother." "Now you probably will no longer think of us. Now you will only call your wife's kinsmen your kin group."

585 /180 cont./ The higher guests come at this point and stand before the bed, one after the other. They take some karuntigi between their fingers, mix this with oil and powder, and amidst the mumbling of a spell, they smear this mixture on one of the fingers, on the arm, sometimes on the forehead or the neck of the bride. The place where the mixture is applied and the manner have their significance. However, this ritual is not performed by all the guests, but only by the higher and by a number of older ones who themselves have many children and many sawahs, in other words people who seem to possess much "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means) and who now, on this occasion, want to transfer something of this to the bride. When a great number of guests come "akkaruntigi," this raises the social standing of the host.

[178] In the afternoon of the day following the "akkaruntigi," the bridegroom leaves -- according to a very old, but at present no longer observed, custom from the lap of his mother --, amidst a great deal of lamenting on the part of his relatives, for the bride's house in order to arrive there around sundown. Only men are present on this occasion. On the way and especially upon arrival at the bride's house, a loud dikir is heard. It is said that formerly at that moment a greeting of welcome was addressed to the bridegroom by one /181/ of the wife's relatives who for this purpose stationed herself at the top of the ladder in front of the door opening. The only time that I experienced this a certain embarrassment could be sensed. This was considered very old-fashioned. The number of those in Borongloë who are familiar with this address is small. The Pinati of Bontoramba gave me the text here reproduced, independent of any festival. The four-line verses reported at the end, in which bridegroom and bride are introduced speaking, were actually incorporated into the address, according to him.

126 The text was checked for uniformity in spelling with the
585 assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes. The

588 /229 cont./ During this solemnity those present were seated in a kind of closed-off veranda built onto the house proper of the Imam. The barred windows were still in the original front wall, and the men present in the veranda could get a glimpse of the women through them. Among them was a woman called Kamida who was in exactly the same position as Djawi and who was therefore also waiting to see if someone would come for her./230/ "That Kamida would also like to," said the guru, and there was general laughter. Rapping, who now felt at ease said that he had really carried through his marriage against the wishes of his parents. They had warned him against marrying since this month is regarded as "unfavorable" for it (bulang bambang, literally, "warm month"), and the Imam responded immediately: "Rapping bambang tongi" (literally, "Rapping is also warm").

[77] The Imam now called out loud for Djawi but she did not appear. A woman was sent to get her, but she did not come. "She is asleep," someone said. A younger brother of the Imam was told to go and call her, and meanwhile the Imam had a burning censer pushed toward him by his wife. Djawi still remained in the back, but finally, urged on by the Imam himself, she appeared in the veranda, and, with her back half turned to her husband-to-be and face turned toward the wall of the house, she sat down. If it is at all possible the woman is spared this situation. Even when servants marry, [212] the master who organizes the wedding takes care that taking the wife's fingerprint is arranged beforehand. According to Moslem legal prescription, a woman does not sign herself if she has a father or grandfather and if she has never before [587] been married. Silariang cases, and therefore also this case, are placed on a par with the marriage of a previously wed woman.

After Djawi had her fingerprint taken, the witnesses and the Imam signed. After that the nikka' took place. Rapping

114 /249 cont./ There is no punishment for failure to register.
163 The reason that people do not like to register a child that has
217 just been born is the belief that this would bring about misfortune
because it is conceived as an expression of arrogance or pride.
[777] For the same reason a newborn child is wrapped in old rags.
[751] There is no certainty that the births recorded in a year represent
the correct number.

[844] A woman by preference has her first child in the house of her
parents, especially if she herself was also born there. Many
children are therefore registered in a kampong where their parents
no longer live and from which it again "moves" a few months
after birth.

[853] A child does not receive a name directly at birth for the
same reason that a child's birth is not directly reported. All boys
are referred to as Baso or Batjo, all girls as Basse or Batje. In
this semianonymity the child is considered safe. Only years
later does it receive a name of its own, which, however, is not
recorded in the register. A certificate of birth is not submitted.

Death Registers

114 In the death registers that are likewise maintained by the
217 imam for the entire adat community (around 14,000 inhabitants),
165 the following data are found reported in parallel columns: the
[793] name of the deceased, his sex, his age; the kampong in which
he died, whether he died during the night or during the day, the
date of his death, the final illness, and sometimes a few remarks
concerning heirs and estate.

[796] The reasons indicated for the death are very much those of
a layman; the imam bases them upon complaints uttered during
the final illness; stomach-ache, coughing, sometimes old age,
are found recorded in this category. /250/

Thus, these registers must also be handled with care.
Neither age nor reason for death can be regarded as reliable.

Halmahera OH12
Toradja OG11

Bahan OC5
Borneo OC1
Nias OD11
Sundanese OE7
Makassar OG6

82 [150 cont.]

778 liver hurt me," said a Dajak, "when I heard that my house had
826 burned down." The Malaysians speak of sakit hati, "pain in the
827 liver," that is, "angered," and ketjil hati, "piqued"; the
778 Tobélorees of Halmahera, when they hear something shocking,
827 say, "my liver is burning."

N
T Only among a few peoples in the archipelago is the heart
778 itself looked upon as the central seat of mana (Niassans, Kailians
827 of central Celebes).

I The blood, however, is regarded as one of the principal
778 carriers of much [151] mana; it throbs in the body wherever a
826 pulse is seen or felt. Blood therefore plays an important role
827 when sacrifices have to be made to avert disasters, as a means
of driving out sickness, as a symbol of unity. Above all, it is
believed to possess purifying powers. For this reason, when a
house is dedicated, blood is painted on the beams and posts.

80
[755] In case of sickness, the Dajak of Sarawak build a miniature
778 house which they sprinkle with blood and place in the home of
the patient; for three days no stranger may enter so that the
patient is able to have the full benefit of the power residing in
the sprinkled blood, since he has lost so much by his sickness.

I
[844] The placenta and umbilical cord possess great magical power
for the newborn child, and they are given the name of the
child's parents or called his "younger brother" (1).

1. The name for the placenta in various
languages of the archipelago means
"young brother."

S A Sundanese kiai (teacher) used the following formula as an
782 incantation: "His Majesty, King Djati Koembara, my brother,
776 who was a placenta and is now an angel in the land of the north,
777 promised at the time of my birth to protect me from storms, the
778 detonation of guns, long swords, and spiced foods. I now ask
for this protection seven times by day and seven times by night."

I
844 The placenta is buried with care; it is preserved during
M the first year of the child's life (among the Makassarese) for
778 use in case of sickness to supply the missing life force, etc.
755
777

2: Wilken--628 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Moluccas OH1

Batak OPS
Javanese OES
Malays ANS
Makassar OGG
Minangkabau OP10

Bt
J
MK
MI
I
777

[578 cont.]

Iakassarese, Malays, Javanese, etc., a [579] piece of paper or lead that has been written on is used. Among the Mohammedan peoples, among whom the belief in amulets is still very strong, they are often maxims from the Koran written on little strips of paper, which, sewed in a piece of cloth, are worn around the neck. They are called djimat, the Arabic asimat. These djimat are preventives against evil spirits, but are likewise protections against all other evil influences. In addition they are used to safeguard houses, gardens, and other possessions.

Mn
777 Among the Malays of Sumatra's west coast, for example, the labu kunduw, a kin of gourd, is hung in the dwelling as panangkoq setan, devil chaser, and certain leaves are hung on the rice granaries to drive away evil spirits (1).

1. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, p. 84.

Bt
777 A special kind of preventive among the Batak is the
782 pangulubalang, which is made up by a datu from all kinds of
775 components, with the head of an orphaned boy as the principal
726 ingredient. Great power is attributed to this remedy, which is therefore worshiped as a divinity and given offerings. The pangulubalang appears primarily as the spirit of war who fights the enemy as a champion.

777 The ordinary amulets of this people are the pagar, which
713 are either worn as personal preventives or are put into an image
532 when they are to protect the premises or the whole village. Such an image is called porpagaran, that is, preventive bearer. The porpagaran protects the village not only against calamities, but also against the enemy in times of war. Then the image is armed with a sword in the right hand and a lance in the left. Similar images are often found on the houses.

Mc
I
777 There is hardly a people in the archipelago that does not
532 have the custom of protecting persons, houses, and other property by amulets against evil spirits as well as against thieves. We want to point out the peculiar form that these have in the

2: Wilken--636 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Batak 0D5 *Javanese* 0E5
Macassar 0G6 • *Malays* AN5
Borneo 0C1
Gorontalo 0G4

Bt [586 cont.]
 787

is predicted by him by means of two cords, rambu si-porhas = lightning cords, which he throws on a piece of striped cloth and then examines their position.

G In the Minahasa, among the Alfoer and among the Dajak,
 Br the heart of a pig is often examined in order to read an omen
 787 from it. We cannot go into this any further, since the things from which omens can be read are innumerable, apart from the various kinds of divination.

[587]

Chapter 26. Determining Favorable and Unfavorable Time Periods

Divining Tables, Kotika

Divining Tables, Kotika

I The belief in favorable and unfavorable days and in
 777 ominous time periods in general is related to the discussion in the preceding chapter. Since this belief plays a prominent role in the life of the native and is nearly the same everywhere, we shall discuss it in more detail.

Br The Malays call the ominous time periods, times that
 8t seem favorable for accomplishing some special undertaking,
 M1 *kutika*, *kotika*, *katika*, or *kětika*, a word derived from the
 MK Sanskrit ghatikā, a certain part of the day. The word occurs in the same sense among the Batak as hatika, among the Dajak as katiku, among the Makassarese as kutika or kětika, and among the Buginese as kotika. By kotika is also understood the tables, M1 figures, etc., from which the time periods are reckoned. There
 777 are various kinds of kotika. For instance, the Malays distinguish
 805

Batak 005
Makassar 066

B [592 cont.]

805 which literally means "hour of death," but is also the name of
 777 the first of these time periods. The other four are called Hala -

787 Kala, Sori = Sri, Borma = Berma, and Bisnu = Bisnoe. Apparently mamis indicates Mahaswara or Siva; it is too farfetched, however, to regard this word as a corruption of Maheçvara, as some people do. The same tables are used for the pormamis as for the kotika lima among the Malays.

Besides these five ominous time periods the Batak know the panggorda as the designation for six similar time periods, those used for most kinds of divination and named [593] after the first, gorda = the Sanskrit grdhra, vulture, which the Batak call anggang = rhinoceros-bird. Furthermore, we want to mention the pormesa, twelve other ominous time periods, the names of which have been derived from the Indian zodiac. The first time period, mesa, is the Sanskritic mesha = ram, what the Batak call hambing = goat.

Finally, we must mention the so-called porhalaän, a table of 12 horizontal lines which correspond to the number of months and are intersected by 30 perpendicular lines which divide each month into 30 days. It is thus used for reckoning the days of the month. The name is derived from hala, the Sanskrit käla = scorpion, that is to say, the constellation of that name. Finally it is to be reported that the word redjang, as rodjang, is also known among them as the designation for the days of the month, and they are consulted as to whether or not they are favorable. In this instance, they generally bear the names of animals (1).

1. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wdb., see mesa, gorda, hala.

M

777 As among the Batak, the Makassarese and Buginese also
 787 have a strong belief in favorable and unfavorable days. The word kotika also occurs here, in the form kotika among the

Makassar 066
Malays AN5
Ngadju 0C9

MH [593 cont.]

777 Makassarese and as kotika among the Buginese. The kotika
787 lima and kotika tudjuh, which are also used among both peoples,
are called bilang lima and bilang tudjuh respectively here and are
constructed in the same way as the Malayan kind. Besides these
kotika, they have others, for example, for traders, for the
devotees of cockfights, etc. Of all these, we shall mention only
the kotika djohoro = the kotika of Johore (2).

2. Matthes, "Boegineesche en Makassaarsche
kotika's, Tijdschr. v. Ind. T. - L. - en Vk.,
Vol. XVIII, pp. 1-43. ff.

MI The inhabitants of the small state of Johore on the head-
777 land of the Malay Peninsula were formerly so often guilty of
787 piracy that Johorese and pirate became synonymous. For this
579 reason, the Johore kotika, originally of Johorese origin, is a
kotika for [594] pirates, which was consulted by them in order
to find out whether they should strike on a certain day and, if
so, the outcome. The kotika itself has a somewhat peculiar
form. It consists of two concentric circles, divided into 12
sectors representing the 12 months. There are thus 24 spaces
in all. The meaning of most of them is indicated by a little
doll, of which some are represented with a head and others
without one. Some spaces are empty. In the calculation, if
one should fall on a space with a doll without a head, it is an
unfavorable omen; one with a head is a favorable omen. If
the kotika should indicate an empty space, the outcome is
doubtful.

N The Olo Ngadju Dajak, too, have their kotika, known as
787 katika. The determination of favorable or unfavorable time
805 periods is done here with the balangan, a figure with seven
rows of five signs. It is thus a divination table that is half
kotika lima and half kotika tudjuh, inasmuch as the days are
counted by sevens, but the day itself is divided into five parts.

M [637 cont.]

791 are said to have originated from the Buginese state Loewoe.
756

M
[776] stand are more specifically Batara Goeroe and his spouse Wi Njilo Timo, the daughter of the god of the underworld, who rose from the sea, and their descendants. They are possessed by these spirits, and when they are possessed they often act as doctresses, sanro. Otherwise they perform their services especially during the festivities on such occasions as births, circumcisions, deaths, filing of teeth, marriages, etc. They then perform all kinds of religious ceremonies which consist of dances, singing, scattering toasted rice, etc. On such occasions, they drive off evil spirits by making noise and smoke with certain instruments. We should
M
[198] note, too, that the bissu, like the shamans in other parts of the archipelago, use a sacred language at their conjurations, one which greatly resembles Old Buginese.

M
[762] 2. Offerings. The making of offerings, both small and large, and holding sacrificial festivities is done often.

M
777 3. Magic. Sorcery manifests itself here in the wearing
787 of amulets and preventives, as well as in the use of magical
788 formulas and the belief in dreams and other omens. The way
in which ominous time periods are determined by means of
kotika has already been mentioned.

M
784 4. Pemali. Among the Makassarese it is called
kassipalli, among the Buginese pomali.

I
121 With this we close the discussion of the religions [638] as far as the original Polynesian and Hinduism are concerned. Islam remains to be mentioned, but we shall limit ourselves exclusively to an enumeration of the peoples who profess this religion.

h. Islam

I
774 We shall not discuss the history of the introduction of
771 Islam in the archipelago, because this would take us too far
afield (1). Similarly we shall not deal with the value of Islam